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FREE WORLD VERSUS COMMUNIST BLOC STANDING
IN THE FOUR MAJOR CITIES OF INDIA

NE-6
February, 1960

SURVEY RESEARCH STUDIES
Near Eastern Public Opinion Barometer

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INTRODUCTION AND PROCEDURES

As part of the Agency's continuing need for information pertaining to the state of public opinion in key countries toward the U.S. and its allies vis-à-vis the Communist bloc, the present survey was undertaken in India in the summer of 1959. In addition to providing trend data on changes in attitudes toward the United States and the Soviet Union, one of the major purposes of this survey was to measure the extent to which Chinese suppression of the Tibet revolt in the spring of 1959 affected Indian attitudes toward China. Measurements of attitudes toward England were also included in the present survey in order to gain an additional comparative dimension on Indian attitudes regarding the East-West conflict. A study carried out in 1958 for USIA provided the bench-mark for measuring the direction and extent of these trends.

Both the 1958 and the 1959 studies were conducted by International Research Associates, Inc., New York, via their Indian affiliate -- the Bureau of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics. The 1959 study was described as sponsored by commercial interests in conjunction with a market research survey being conducted at the same time.

The 1958 sample comprised a total of 1290 cases based upon a carefully designed probability sampling of Indians on the voting registers in metropolitan areas having a city population of 100,000 or more. For reasons of economy the 1959 survey was limited to a total of 800 cases -- 200 adults 21 years of age and over taken from the voting registers of each of the four major cities in India (Delhi, Madras, Calcutta and Bombay) -- and was further limited to exclude those with no education since in the 1958 survey the "Don't know" responses from those with no education were usually 90 per cent or higher.

In view of these differences in sampling procedures, various adjustments were necessary to make the two sets of data comparable. In the case of the 1958 survey, the 350 respondents with some education from these four cities were pulled out of the total 1290 sample and their responses were separately tabulated. The data from the 1959 survey were weighted to reflect the proportional distribution in each city of the Indians who had some formal education, using the distribution of the educated respondents by city in the 1958 survey as a base. The distribution of the 1958 sample by city and the weighted 1959 sample by city are as follows:

	1958 <u>Survey</u>		1959 <u>Actual</u> <u>Interviews</u>	1959 <u>Weighted</u> <u>Sample Size</u>	
	No.	%		No.	%
Delhi	37	10.6	200	200	10.5
Madras	64	18.2	200	350	18.4
Bombay	91	26.0	200	500	26.3
Calcutta	158	45.0	200	850	44.7
	350	99.8	800	1900	99.9

In view of the fact that the 1959 survey was confined to the four largest cities, certain precautions should be observed in interpreting the data. The results can not be considered representative of all urban Indian opinion. A comparison of the four-city total for 1958 on selected questions with the total for all cities of 100,000 population and over included in that survey, indicates that opinion in the four cities tended to be somewhat more pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese than was the total urban sample. Furthermore, since there is also a wide variation in attitudes among the four cities, this data should not be interpreted as a reflection of attitudes in any particular city, but rather an average of all four weighted in terms of the comparative population of the four cities. However,

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it should be pointed out that the proportionally greater weight accorded the most populous city -- Calcutta -- which is known to be more pro-Communist and anti-American than the others, does not affect the results to any appreciable extent. If all four cities were given equal weight, the results would generally be very close to the weighted figures used in this report.

In terms of their background characteristics the composition of the two samples employed for trend comparisons is as indicated below.

In evaluating the comparability of the samples it should be appreciated that with the exception of education, most of the differences in composition are within the range of random fluctuation inherent in probability sampling from electoral lists. To ascertain the extent to which the educational differences might have affected the results, tests were made on responses to selected questions and it was found that the totals were not affected by more than about two per cent, of which a portion could be the result of rounding. It was therefore concluded that it was not necessary to correct for educational differences in the weighting procedures used.¹

<u>Sample Composition:</u> No. of cases	<u>1958 Survey</u> (350)	<u>Weighted</u> <u>1959 Survey</u> (800)
Age:		
21 to 25 years	12%	14%
26 to 30	23	21
31 to 40	40	31
41 to 50	17	18
Over 50	8	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Sex:		
Male	71%	68%
Female	29	32
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Education:		
Primary	51%	40%
Secondary	27	40
College	22	20
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Occupation:		
Professional	13%	6%
Executive and Government official	4	6
Businessman and trader	23	18
Clerical/white collar	14	11
Skilled and semi-skilled worker	-	12
Laborer	20	12
Student	2	3
Housewife	24	26
Retired	-	3
Unemployed	-	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Income:		
Over Rs. 1000	3%	3%
Rs. 500 to 999	8	10
Rs. 250 to 499	24	21
Rs. 100 to 249	44	42
Less than Rs. 100	21	24
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

¹Since no census data providing precise population figures on these characteristics were available for the four cities, it was not possible to make a check to find out to what extent the background characteristics of these two samples taken from the voting lists correspond with the actual distribution of these characteristics in the population.

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Frequently throughout this report readers will note that comparisons are shown not only in terms of the percentage favorable or unfavorable to the U.S. on a given issue, but also in terms of a net favorable figure -- favorable minus unfavorable answers. Such an index often provides a useful basis of comparison since it helps to take into account in one unitary figure the extent to which favorable responses are offset by unfavorable. In comparing "net favorable" indices, however, readers should understand that they reflect not only the comparative ratios of favorable to unfavorable opinion, but also the extent of "no opinion." In consequence, net favorable scores may differ even with the same ratios of favorable to unfavorable views (among those expressing opinions) because of a difference in extent of no opinion. In only one question, -- attitudes toward foreign leaders -- was it found, however, that the differences in the size of the no opinion group materially affected the interpretation of the results. In this single case, a net favorable figure of only those with opinions has been included, as well as the net favorable index for the total sample.

As readers of USIA survey studies are regularly reminded, results obtained from statistical samples are not of absolute precision but are subject to a small range of chance fluctuation varying mainly with the size of the sample. Differences between percentages are also not to be taken wholly at face value, but are only to be considered significant if they are large enough, with the number of cases involved, to be reliable beyond the limits of chance variation. These considerations are reflected in the statements made in the text. Anyone interested in specific details of statistical procedure in this or other connections is invited to consult the Office of Research and Analysis, Survey Research Division, USIA.

Original plans for analysis and presentation of the survey data were altered by unforeseen circumstances that arose after the survey had been launched. In late August when the interviewing was approximately two-thirds completed, the news of Chinese military incursions across India's borders and claims on Indian territory became public. Indian reaction to these border developments was vividly reflected in the Indian press, public demonstrations, etc. Thus original plans to do a city-by-city comparison of the four cities covered in the survey had to be discarded because the interviewing in Delhi and Calcutta had been practically completed, in Madras over half completed, and in Bombay only just begun at the time these events became public, and hence these cities were obviously not comparable in their extent of exposure to these very significant developments.

The timing of the interviewing in the four cities, along with other considerations, also precluded any precise determination of the extent to which the change in attitudes toward China was a result of Tibet as versus a result of the subsequent Indian border incidents. Division of the sample into two groups, one representing opinion before, the other after the border events, does not provide a proper basis of comparison for a number of reasons, the principle one being that Bombay, where most of the "after" interviewing was done, was shown by the 1958 survey to be more anti-Communist to begin with than any of the other three cities.

Finally, in the interest of brevity and because of complexities in the data, the overall figures have not been presented by degree of education. The pattern of differences by education appears to vary, on occasion, rather considerably from city to city in such wise that an overall education comparison runs the risk of being a misleading average of rather disparate elements. On the other hand a separate educational breakdown for each city would rest upon too few cases to be reliable.

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HEADLINE SUMMARY

China drops sharply in general esteem; U.S. and Russia about on a par; England rated highest ...

Eisenhower, Khrushchev and Nasser approximately equal in general esteem among those with opinions ...

Russia continues to be most frequently cited as "Real best friend" of India; U.S. and England tied for second place ...

Self-estimates of opinion change confirm adverse trend in Chinese standing; suggest improving trend for Russia, U.S., and England ...

In sources of favorable impressions, U.S. somewhat behind Russia in science and space, slightly ahead in aid ...

China criticized primarily for interference in Tibet and border problems with India ...

Identification of basic interests with U.S. increases substantially to level of Russia and England; China falls sharply ...

Nonalignment attitude stronger than in 1958; proportion favoring siding with Communist powers drops appreciably ...

While preference prevails for a balance of power, somewhat more would like to see anti-Communist than Communist side stronger ...

Russia appears to lead U.S. on question of who will be strongest in 1980 ...

Favorable judgments of China's and Russia's peace efforts drop considerably -- the only instance of a negative trend on Russia in the survey; despite some rise, U.S. still well below U.S.S.R. ...

Pakistan identified as chief "Danger to India" ...

But Russia and U.S. regarded as greatest "Danger to world peace" ...

Russia most associated with phrase "Domination of other people by force" ...

But the term "Imperialism" far more frequently associated with Britain than with Russia ...

Association of "Economic progress" and "Domination of other countries economically" with America indicates admiration of U.S. economy not unmixd with concern ...

"Democracy" associated increasingly with U.S. ...

Socialism increasingly favored economic system; capitalism is rated substantially lower than communism and calls forth more negative reactions than any other question in the survey ...

Yet attitudes toward capitalism no barrier to willingness to learn from economic system of U.S. ...

Interest in science focuses much more on agricultural production and medicine than on space research ...

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CHINA DROPS SHARPLY IN GENERAL ESTEEM; U.S. AND RUSSIA ABOUT ON A PAR;
ENGLAND RATED HIGHEST ...

That China's departure from the principles of peaceful coexistence cut substantially into its standing in India is clearly indicated in a trend survey of educated, urban opinion in the four largest cities of India in the summer of 1959, approximately a year following an initial survey of urban Indian opinion in 1958. The trend measurement was made for the most part before the Indian government's exposure on August 27 of Chinese efforts to obtain Indian territory, and thus represents primarily reaction to Chinese activities in Tibet rather than to the border dispute.

Despite the loss, however, Indian opinion of Communist China remained predominantly favorable in the net as of the time of the latest survey, which suggests that Indian esteem for China is not something which is readily dissipated. It remains for further trend studies to indicate to what extent the incursions of the Chinese into Indian territory have additionally reduced China's standing among Indian urbanites.

Since the earlier survey, favorable opinion of the U.S. appears to have edged up slightly, but not to the point of exceeding Russia. The similarity of Soviet standing in the two surveys suggests that adverse judgments about Chinese policies have not been generalized to China's closest ally. The possibility exists, however, that Russia's rating might have been higher in 1959 had it not been for China's adventuresomeness.

For broader perspective in interpreting country standing, the latest survey included England among the countries to be judged. The results indicate a heavy predominance of favorable over unfavorable sentiment -- well above the other countries measured -- and would appear to be no small tribute to a country which for so long a period was in the position of governing India. While trend comparisons can not be made because the sample was so dissimilar, it might be noted in this connection that in another survey conducted in February 1957¹, the same question elicited a very substantial predominance of unfavorable attitudes toward Great Britain; it ranked in eighth place out of nine countries measured, being exceeded only by Pakistan in the predominance of unfavorable attitudes. This critical attitude toward Great Britain at that time was probably in large part a result of Britain's actions in the Suez Canal crisis in late 1956.

"Please tell me your feelings about various countries -- do you have a very good opinion, good, fair, bad, or very bad opinion of each of these? How about ...?"

Opinion of: No. of cases	England	Russia		America		China	
	1959 (800)	1958 (350)	1959 (800)	1958 (350)	1959 (800)	1958 (350)	1959 (800)
Very good opinion	16%	12%	15%	10%	16%	6%	5%
Good opinion	42	39	33	31	30	35	23
Fair opinion	20	21	27	26	25	21	26
Bad opinion	3	5	4	7	7	2	11
Very bad opinion	*	1	1	4	1	*	3
No opinion	19	22	20	22	21	36	32
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable ²	55	45	43	30	38	39	14

* Throughout the report an asterisk indicates less than one-half of one per cent.

¹ See IRI Special Report No. 7, "Some Indications of the Present Standing of the U.S. vs. Communist Powers in Indian Public Opinion," June 14, 1957, CONFIDENTIAL.

² See Introduction for an explanation of the term "Net Favorable."

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EISENHOWER, KHRUSHCHEV AND NASSER APPROXIMATELY EQUAL IN GENERAL ESTEEM
AMONG THOSE WITH OPINIONS ...

Among the foreign leaders whom the educated Indian urbanites were asked to judge, Khrushchev appeared to be somewhat more widely known than any of the others. Because the size of the "no opinion" group varied more on this question than on some of the other country comparisons, a comparative index of the net favorable of only those with opinions is presented in addition to the net favorable of the total sample. Reference to this index reveals that Khrushchev, Eisenhower and Nasser elicited approximately equal ratings among the group in which opinion had crystallized.¹ Although it cannot be said that the Dalai Lama received an overwhelmingly favorable response, it was appreciably better than Chou En-lai's and only slightly below Nasser's.

"Here are some questions about various leaders from foreign countries. Please tell me what your feelings are about each of these men -- do you have a very good opinion, good, fair, bad, or very bad opinion of each of these? How about ...?"

No. of cases	Premier Khrushchev of Russia (800)	President Eisenhower of America (800)	President Nasser of Egypt (800)	The Dalai Lama of Tibet (800)	Premier Chou En-lai of China (800)
Very good opinion	12%	12%	13%	7%	4%
Good opinion	38	31	24	27	24
Fair opinion	20	23	20	19	25
Bad opinion	6	4	3	5	9
Very bad opinion	1	*	*	3	4
No opinion	<u>23</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>34</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net favorable of total sample	43	39	34	26	15
Net favorable of those with opinions	56	55	57	42	22

It might be pointed out that the index of net favorable opinions based upon the total sample for Khrushchev, Eisenhower and Chou En-lai are almost identical with the comparable index for the general esteem ratings for their respective countries (see previous page), indicating a close correlation of opinion about countries and their major political leaders.

¹The reader will, of course, appreciate that President Eisenhower's rating may well have changed very considerably as a result of his recent visit.

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RUSSIA CONTINUES TO BE MOST FREQUENTLY CITED AS "REAL BEST FRIEND" OF INDIA; U.S. AND ENGLAND TIED FOR SECOND PLACE ...

Comparative Indian opinion of other countries was also approached in the present survey through the medium of the open inquiry below that permits reference to any country in the world, rather than confining judgments to a specific four, and is couched in the more hard-boiled terms of "real best friend" rather than simply good opinion. On this perhaps more penetrating index of Indian feeling toward other countries, Russia in the 1959 survey, as in 1958, continues in first place. The U.S. was second in 1958, but, with a rise in favorable opinion about England, is in the latest survey approximately tied for second place.

"Which country in the world is the real best friend of India?"¹

No. of cases	<u>1958</u> (350)	<u>1959</u> (800)
Russia	37%	31%
America	21	19
England	6	16
China	9	4
Other	5	5
No country	3	3
No opinion	<u>19</u>	<u>22</u>
	100%	100%

¹In 1958 this question was worded "Which country is the real best friend of India?"

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SELF-ESTIMATES OF OPINION CHANGE CONFIRM ADVERSE TREND IN CHINESE STANDING;
SUGGEST IMPROVING TREND FOR RUSSIA, U.S., AND ENGLAND ...

Asking respondents directly about possible changes in their attitudes is never as satisfactory a procedure as objective trend measurements, but it often reveals useful supplementary insights and provides a basis for inquiring into the reasons for changes. The results in the present connection confirm the earlier indication of a decline in China's standing in contrast to positive changes for the other three powers tested. The differing trends with regard to Russia and China provide additional evidence that as of the time of the survey there had apparently been no adverse effect on attitudes toward Russia as a result of China's Tibetan policies.

"In general, has your opinion of (England, Russia, America, China) gone up or down in the last six months?"

No. of cases	Russia (800)	America (800)	England (800)	China (800)
Gone up	33%	28%	20%	12%
Gone down	7	7	8	26
No change (Vol.)	34	38	44	28
No opinion	26	27	28	34
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	26	21	12	-14

Some of the reasons cited for changes in opinion may be seen in the responses to the open-end questions following.

IN SOURCES OF FAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS, U.S. SOMEWHAT BEHIND RUSSIA IN SCIENCE AND SPACE, SLIGHTLY AHEAD IN AID ...

CHINA CRITICIZED PRIMARILY FOR INTERFERENCE IN TIBET AND BORDER PROBLEMS WITH INDIA ...

When respondents were asked to recall what in particular had struck them favorably or unfavorably in the last six months about these four countries, favorable recollections predominated over unfavorable for Russia, the U.S., and England, whereas for China recollections were substantially larger on the critical side. In open-end, recall questions of this type, lack of articulateness always limits the number of specific mentions; consequently, the reasons cited may be assumed to apply to larger proportions than actually mention them.

"Space research" and "Aid to India" were favorably and prominently mentioned for both Russia and the U.S. However, activities in the scientific field, including space research, were mentioned about twice as often for Russia as they were for the U.S. and were also more frequently mentioned in connection with Russia than any other category of activity. Most of the favorable recollections of the U.S. concerned economic activities, particularly aid to India and other countries, but the U.S. does not have a clear lead over Russia even in this area. Of the unfavorable references, most for the U.S. were concerned with "Military aid to Pakistan", and for Russia almost an equal proportion were concerned with Russian domination of or interference in the affairs of other countries.

Unfavorable recollections of China were almost three times more frequent than for Russia or America, and most of them related to Tibet. It is interesting, however, that despite the short time the Chinese invasion of Indian territory had been in the news and the fact that only about one-third of the sample could have known about it, 10 per cent of the sample specifically alluded to the border problems.

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"In all you have heard or read about various countries in the past six months, what in particular struck you favorably about (England, Russia, America, China)?"

No. of cases	Russia (800)	America (800)	England (800)	China (800)
<u>Scientific:</u>				
Space research	15%	10%	*%	-%
Scientific advancement	6	-	1	-
Research on peaceful uses of atomic energy	<u>1</u> 22%	<u>1</u> 11%	<u>*</u> 1%	<u>-</u> -%
<u>Economic:</u>				
Aid to India	10%	14%	3%	*%
Principle of economic equality	2	-	-	*
Economic aid to other countries	-	4	*	*
High level of industrial, agricultural production	1	1	1	-
Adequate standard of living for people	1	1	-	1
Reduced aid to Pakistan	-	*	-	-
Increase in agricultural production (in speed and degree)	-	-	-	4
Advancement in industrialization (in speed and degree)	-	-	-	2
Hardwork, enthusiasm of Chinese people	-	-	-	1
Methods, organization of labor force	-	-	-	1
England's international economic policy	<u>-</u> 14%	<u>-</u> 20%	<u>3</u> 7%	<u>-</u> 9%
<u>International peace:</u>				
Efforts toward international meetings of leaders	6%	4%	1%	1%
Peace efforts generally, including disarmament, banning of nuclear weapons, etc.	6	3	1	-
Improvement of foreign policy since Dulles	<u>-</u> 12%	<u>1</u> 8%	<u>-</u> 2%	<u>-</u> 1%
<u>Miscellaneous:</u>				
In the field of sports	-%	-%	1%	-%
Others	<u>5</u> 5%	<u>3</u> 3%	<u>4</u> 5%	<u>2</u> 2%
No opinion	57%	63%	85%	89%
Total ¹	110%	105%	100%	101%

¹ Percentages add to more than 100 per cent since some respondents gave more than one answer.

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"In all you have heard or read about various countries in the past six months, what in particular struck you unfavorably about (England, Russia, America, China)?"

No. of cases	<u>Russia</u> (800)	<u>America</u> (800)	<u>England</u> (800)	<u>China</u> (800)
<u>Foreign affairs:</u>				
Imperialism, expansion by force or economic pressure	1%	1%	*%	2%
Propagation of communistic views	2	-	-	-
Interference in Berlin	2	-	-	-
Interference in Hungary	2	-	-	-
Continuation of atomic tests	1	1	-	-
Interference in Middle East	1	*	-	-
Interference in India's domestic affairs	*	-	-	-
Military aid to Pakistan	-	6	*	-
Military aid and pacts with other countries	-	1	-	-
Policy toward China and Formosa	-	1	-	-
Unfriendly position on Kashmir	-	*	1	-
Policy toward Russia (unwillingness for discussions, etc.)	-	*	-	-
Interference in Tibet	-	-	-	21
Entry into Indian territory	-	-	-	7
Disrespectful treatment of Dalai Lama	-	-	-	2
Interference in border states (Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal, Kashmir)	-	-	-	2
Inclusion of non-Chinese territory in maps of China	-	-	-	1
Dishonest, unreliable	-	-	-	1
Non-cooperative attitude towards everything, particularly international sphere	-	-	1	-
Inability to solve problems of South African Indians	-	-	*	-
Unnecessary concern for Europe	-	-	*	-
	9%	10%	4%	36%
<u>Domestic affairs:</u>				
Dictatorship, dismissal or purging of government officials	1%	-%	-%	*%
Race relations	-	1	1	-
Absence of civil liberties (free speech, press, religion, etc.)	1	-	-	*
Atheism	1	-	-	-
Mistaken internal economic policies	-	-	-	*
	3%	1%	1%	*%
<u>Miscellaneous:</u>	3%	4%	2%	3%
No opinion	87%	86%	94%	68%
Total ¹	102%	101%	101%	107%

¹ Percentages add to more than 100 per cent since some respondents gave more than one answer.

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IDENTIFICATION OF BASIC INTERESTS WITH U.S. INCREASES SUBSTANTIALLY TO LEVEL OF RUSSIA AND ENGLAND; CHINA FALLS SHARPLY ...

One of the more important findings of the 1959 survey is the indication that although general esteem for the U.S. improved only slightly, the extent of Indian urbanite identification with the basic interests of the U.S. has risen substantially. In the earlier survey, the view predominated slightly that the basic interests of India and the U.S. were not in agreement. Since then there has been a significant shift in attitude, with a substantial pre-dominance of opinion in the 1959 survey that the basic interests of India and the U.S. are in agreement. This shift in the assessment of the agreement of basic interests between India and the U.S. brings the U.S. about on a par with Russia, whose net favorable rating remained virtually the same, and England.

The substantial predominance of favorable views regarding the community of basic interests between India and China in 1958 had dissipated by the time the 1959 survey was taken -- another marked indication of the extent to which the rather large reservoir of goodwill toward China had fallen, presumably as a result of China's aggressive policies on Tibet and the Indian border.

Reasons for the present uniformity of the ratings for Russia, England and the U.S. are not so obvious. Just what connotations or definitions of "basic interests" most of the respondents had in mind when they answered this question -- whether they were thinking primarily in terms of foreign policy objectives, domestic political similarities, economic, social, cultural or historical affinities, or some combination of all of these -- is an unknown quantity. It remains for future surveys to probe more deeply into this question.

"In your opinion, are the basic interests of India and those of (England, Russia, America, China) very much in agreement, fairly well in agreement, rather different, or very different?"

No. of cases	<u>Russia</u>		<u>England</u>	<u>America</u>		<u>China</u>	
	<u>1958</u> (350)	<u>1959</u> (800)	<u>1959</u> (800)	<u>1958</u> (350)	<u>1959</u> (800)	<u>1958</u> (350)	<u>1958</u> (800)
Very much in agreement	13%	12%	15%	9%	12%	11%	5%
Fairly well in agreement	32	38	33	21	35	35	25
Rather different	12	16	17	19	18	9	17
Very different	8	7	6	20	7	6	13
No opinion	<u>35</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>40</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net "in agreement"	25	27	25	-9	22	31	0

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NONALIGNMENT ATTITUDE STRONGER THAN IN 1958; PROPORTION FAVORING SIDING WITH COMMUNIST POWERS DROPS APPRECIABLY ...

Events since the initial survey appear to have made an appreciable inroad into the proportion favoring siding with the Communist powers. This loss has not been transmitted into siding with the anti-Communist powers, however, but into increasing the support for the strongly predominant position -- that of taking neither side. Among the minority who favor taking sides, opinion is now about evenly divided between the Communist and anti-Communist powers, in contrast to the period of the 1958 survey when the Communist powers had an edge.

"At the present time, do you personally think that India should be on the side of the Communist powers, on the side of the anti-Communist powers, or on neither side?"

No. of cases	<u>1958</u> (350)	<u>1959</u> (800)
Side with Communist powers	24%	11%
Side with anti-Communist powers	12	14
Neither side	48	62
No opinion	<u>16</u>	<u>13</u>
	100%	100%

To what extent events subsequent to the 1959 survey involving a more direct military threat to India might have altered this pattern of opinion remains for future surveys to measure.

WHILE PREFERENCE PREVAILS FOR A BALANCE OF POWER, SOMEWHAT MORE WOULD LIKE TO SEE ANTI-COMMUNIST THAN COMMUNIST SIDE STRONGER ...

To explore a step further the kind of sentiments that might lie behind Indian inclinations toward nonalignment in the East-West conflict, the present survey inquired into the extent of preference for an even balance of power between Communist and anti-Communist nations, as versus a desire to have one or the other militarily stronger. The results indicate that while indecision is considerable on this question as compared to that of taking sides, the pattern of returns makes it appear that at least some of those who do not want India committed to either side at the same time believe that India can better pursue its objectives under the protective umbrella of Western military strength.

"Do you think it would be best in terms of India's own interests for the Communist powers to be militarily stronger than the anti-Communist powers, militarily weaker than the anti-Communist powers, or about the same in military strength?"

No. of cases	<u>1959</u> (800)
Best if Communist powers stronger	15%
Best if Communist powers weaker	23
Best if about the same strength	33
No opinion	<u>29</u>
	100%

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RUSSIA APPEARS TO LEAD U.S. ON QUESTION OF WHO WILL BE STRONGEST IN 1980 ...

Despite the tendency among those who favored one side or the other to believe an anti-Communist balance of power would be better for India, a slightly greater proportion appear to believe that Russia rather than the U.S. will be militarily and economically stronger in 1980.

"If the major world powers settle down to competition without war for the next twenty or twenty-five years, which of the following four powers -- England, Russia, America, China -- do you think will end up the strongest economically? Which will be next?"

	<u>Strongest</u>	<u>Next Strongest</u>
Russia	38%	27%
America	31	34
England	6	7
China	4	8
No opinion	<u>21</u>	<u>24</u>
	100%	100%

"And how about military strength -- which of the four do you think will end up the strongest militarily? And which next?"

	<u>Strongest</u>	<u>Next Strongest</u>
Russia	39%	25%
America	28	34
China	4	8
England	4	5
No opinion	<u>25</u>	<u>28</u>
	100%	100%

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FAVORABLE JUDGMENTS OF CHINA'S AND RUSSIA'S PEACE EFFORTS DROP CONSIDERABLY -- THE ONLY INSTANCE OF A NEGATIVE TREND ON RUSSIA IN THE SURVEY; DESPITE SOME RISE, U.S. STILL WELL BELOW U.S.S.R. ...

It can not be said that there was great enthusiasm for the peace efforts of any of the countries measured in this survey; the net favorable ratings for all four countries were substantially lower than the comparable country ratings on the general esteem question (see page 1). Russia and England, however, share an appreciable lead over the U.S. China, as expected, dropped substantially from 1958.

Perhaps more noteworthy are the shifts in opinion regarding the U.S. and Russia since the initial survey. The appreciable drop in the estimation of Russia's peace efforts is the only instance in this survey of a Soviet decline; on all other trend questions included in both surveys, the rating for Russia remained unchanged. Opinions about U.S. peace efforts, although evenly divided, showed a substantial improvement over 1958, when opinion was predominantly critical. Although the U.S. was still well below Russia, the Russian lead over the U.S. on this question had dropped from a net difference of 57 points in 1958 to 20 in 1959.

The reasons for these shifts are not so obvious that, as in the case of China, cause and effect relationships can readily be inferred. However, it seems possible that the improvement in the U.S. rating may reflect an approval of what was seen as a greater willingness on the part of the U.S. to have high-level discussions with the Soviets, evidenced for example by Vice-President Nixon's trip to the Soviet Union, the Geneva Foreign Ministers' conference over Berlin, and the announcement that President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Khrushchev would exchange visits.

"Is (England, Russia, America, China) doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?"

No. of cases	Russia		America		England	China	
	1958 (350)	1959 (800)	1958 (350)	1959 (800)	1959 (800)	1958 (350)	1959 (800)
Yes	51%	44%	21%	32%	42%	41%	24%
No	17	26	44	34	24	14	30
No opinion	<u>32</u> 100%	<u>30</u> 100%	<u>35</u> 100%	<u>34</u> 100%	<u>34</u> 100%	<u>45</u> 100%	<u>46</u> 100%
Net Favorable	34	18	-23	-2	18	27	-6

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PAKISTAN IDENTIFIED AS CHIEF "DANGER TO INDIA" ...

Despite Indian concern over Chinese activities in Tibet, opinion at the time of the survey regarded China as less of a great a threat to India than Pakistan. It remains for a future survey to measure the extent to which subsequent Chinese military invasions of India territory and the settlement of some of the important points of contention with Pakistan might have altered the relative position of Pakistan and China.

"When the following words or phrases are mentioned, what foreign country comes first to your mind?"

<u>Danger to India:</u>	<u>1959</u>
No. of cases	(800)
Pakistan	52%
China	10
Russia	5
America	5
Other	2
No opinion	<u>26</u>
	100%

BUT RUSSIA AND U.S. REGARDED AS GREATEST "DANGER TO WORLD PEACE" ...

Though the Indians sampled viewed Pakistan, for the most part, as the greatest danger to India, in the wider context of danger to world peace Russia and the U.S. were the most frequently mentioned.

<u>Danger to world peace:</u>	
No. of cases	(800)
Russia	20%
America	20
Pakistan	7
China	5
England	2
Other	2
No opinion	<u>44</u>
	100%

It will be noted that mentions of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. split evenly on the present question whereas on an earlier inquiry relating to efforts to prevent war Russia was well ahead of the U.S. This contrast in findings suggests answers to the present question on danger to world peace may be reflecting more the facts of power or capacity for causing trouble rather than judgments about peaceful or belligerent proclivities.

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RUSSIA MOST ASSOCIATED WITH PHRASE "DOMINATION OF OTHER PEOPLE BY FORCE" ...

Russia, somewhat more frequently than the U.S., is associated with the phrase "domination of other people by force." Responses to another question (see page 6) indicate that domination or interference in the affairs of other countries is one of the major Indian criticisms of Russia.

"When the following words or phrases are mentioned, what foreign country comes first to your mind?"

Domination of other peopleby force:

No. of cases	1959 (800)
Russia	21%
America	10
China	6
England	5
France	3
Pakistan	3
Other	6
No opinion	<u>46</u>
	100%

BUT THE TERM "IMPERIALISM" FAR MORE FREQUENTLY ASSOCIATED WITH BRITAIN THAN WITH RUSSIA ...

Although Russia and, to a lesser extent the U.S., are most frequently associated with the concept of domination of other countries by force, Great Britain is far more often identified with that of "imperialism." Moreover, for reasons that are not clear, the proportions doing so appear to have increased since the earlier survey in 1958. How adverse this apparent change can be taken to be is open to question in the light of the very favorable pattern of returns in the present survey. It is possible that the considerably greater emphasis upon England in the present survey, as compared to that in 1958, brought it more into the focus of attention and thus gave the respondents a greater opportunity to cite England in the present connection.

Imperialism:

No. of cases	1958 (350)	1959 (800)
England	16%	37%
America	14	13
Russia	4	7
Other	6	7
No opinion	<u>60</u>	<u>36</u>
	100%	100%

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ASSOCIATION OF "ECONOMIC PROGRESS" AND "DOMINATION OF OTHER COUNTRIES ECONOMICALLY"
WITH AMERICA INDICATES ADMIRATION OF U.S. ECONOMY NOT UNMIXED WITH CONCERN ...

When attention is shifted from "domination of other people by force" to "domination of other countries economically" the U.S. and Russia reverse positions, with the U.S. far more frequently mentioned. However at the same time the U.S. is also most prominently associated with the term "economic progress", which suggests that the economic power of the U.S. arouses mixed feelings in the Indians -- a compound of admiration and apprehension.

"When the following words or phrases are mentioned, what foreign country comes first to your mind?"

Domination of other countries economically:

No. of cases	1958 (350)	1959 (800)
America	38%	42%
Russia	5	12
England	4	6
France	-	2
China	1	1
Other	3	2
No opinion	49	35
	100%	100%

Economic progress:

America	35%
Russia	18
China	9
West Germany	4
England	4
Japan	2
Other	3
No opinion	25
	100%

"DEMOCRACY" ASSOCIATED INCREASINGLY WITH U.S. ...

For whatever reasons, there appears to be somewhat more frequent identification of the term "Democracy" with the U.S. than in 1958, but for the other countries it remains about the same. The increase for the U.S. gave it a slight lead over England and Russia, with whom it had formerly been approximately on a par.

<u>Democracy:</u>	1958 (350)	1959 (800)
No. of cases		
America	14%	25%
England	15	14
Russia	11	14
China	5	4
Other	13	7
No opinion	42	36
	100%	100%

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SOCIALISM INCREASINGLY FAVORED ECONOMIC SYSTEM; CAPITALISM IS RATED SUBSTANTIALLY LOWER THAN COMMUNISM AND CALLS FORTH MORE NEGATIVE REACTIONS THAN ANY OTHER QUESTION IN THE SURVEY ...

Socialism is by far the most favored economic system for India -- an opinion which has grown appreciably since the initial survey. Although both communism and capitalism have shown a slight drop over this same period, it does not appear that socialism necessarily grew in favor at their expense; it is possible that this growth in net favorable opinion is a result of the crystallization of views among those who formerly had no opinion.

Capitalism is substantially lower than communism in Indian regard -- in fact capitalism elicited more negative reactions than any other question in the survey. Attitudes toward communism are about evenly divided.

It should be mentioned, however, that these three terms -- socialism, communism, and capitalism -- are rather large concepts, the meanings of which are subject to varying interpretations and connotations which have not yet been fully explored. Certainly the respondents were evaluating them in terms of their own experience and possibly many in terms of the appropriateness of each system to Indian conditions. Therefore, the results do not in every case necessarily indicate any condemnation of economic approaches in other countries whose conditions are known to differ materially from those existing in India. The term "American capitalism," it will be recalled, while it did not elicit a predominantly favorable reaction in the 1958 survey¹, nevertheless enjoyed a substantially higher rating than did the term "capitalism" per se. Other surveys², although not comparable in sample composition to this one, support the frequently made, subjective observations that Indians still think of capitalism as the outmoded, 19th century variety with which they are most familiar and that they often automatically associate the worst features of capitalism with the American economic system. On the other hand, some Indian observers have stated (and with some amusement, believing that "socialism" is an unpopular term in the U.S.) that the U.S. economic system is really more socialist than the economic system of many of the countries who call themselves socialist.

"Now I would like to turn to a different subject and ask your opinion about some economic systems. Do you have a very good opinion, good, fair, bad, or very bad opinion of each of the following types of economic systems -- Socialism, Communism, Capitalism?"

Opinion of: No. of cases	Socialism		Communism		Capitalism	
	1958 (350)	1959 (800)	1958 (350)	1959 (800)	1958 (350)	1959 (800)
Very good opinion	15%	34%	7%	8%	3%	3%
Good opinion	27	28	21	15	6	6
Fair opinion	20	12	21	25	9	16
Bad opinion	1	4	14	22	26	30
Very bad opinion	1	1	7	6	19	22
No opinion	36	21	30	24	37	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Net Favorable	40	57	7	-5	-36	-43

¹ See IRI report PMS-36, April 1959, "The Image of America in Urban India, II. Some Judgments About Specific Areas of American Life," CONFIDENTIAL

² See IRI report P-13.1-58, "The Indian Image of the U.S., A Preliminary View, Part II: The American Way of Life" pages 4-7, September 16, 1958, CONFIDENTIAL.

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YET ATTITUDES TOWARD CAPITALISM NO BARRIER TO WILLINGNESS TO LEARN FROM ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF U.S. ...

Even though the Indian urbanites definitely appear to be negatively oriented to capitalism as they understand it, they are very interested in learning from the economic systems of industrially advanced countries regardless of the nature of their economic philosophies. There is equal interest, for example, in learning from the economic systems of England, Russia, and the U.S. The fact that less interest was shown in China could in part be a result of the political differences between the two countries, but it might reflect to a greater extent a view that China, being at an almost equal stage in economic development with India, has less to offer.

"In shaping its own course of development, how much do you feel India can usefully learn from the economic system of (England, Russia, America, China) -- a great deal, some, only a little, or nothing at all."

No. of cases	<u>England</u> (800)	<u>Russia</u> (800)	<u>America</u> (800)	<u>China</u> (800)
Great deal	38%	34%	35%	17%
Some	29	34	33	26
Only a little	9	7	9	10
Nothing	4	4	3	14
No opinion	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>33</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

INTEREST IN SCIENCE FOCUSES MUCH MORE ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND MEDICINE THAN ON SPACE RESEARCH ...

Despite the great impact Russian and American space research have had on the educated Indian urbanite, there is comparatively little interest on his part in learning more about space exploration. His scientific interests are concentrated more on scientific fields that would have more immediate, practical value to Indians, such as agricultural and medical science.

"In general, how interested would you say you are in learning more about the ways in which science has been used to benefit mankind -- very interested, fairly interested, only slightly interested, or not interested at all?"

No. of cases	<u>1959</u> (800)
Very interested	47%
Fairly interested	23
Only slightly interested	13
Not interested at all	<u>17</u>
	100%

If "Very interested" or "Fairly interested": "I'm going to read a list of ways in which science has been used to benefit mankind. Which of the following ways would you be most interested in learning more about?" (Only one selection allowed)

Increasing agricultural production	35%
Scientific medicine in diagnosing illness	19
Atomic energy as a source of power and light	9
Exploring outer space	3
Developing water resources	2
The sun as a source of energy	2
Not interested in any of these	*
	<u>70%</u>